

AFRICAN WELFARE



THOUGHTS ON  
AFRICAN  
CITIZENSHIP

BY  
T. R. BATTEN

*Second Edition*

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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I SHOULD like to explain why this book has been written. A large number of literate Africans are sincerely anxious to help their own people and their country. In this book I have tried to suggest how they can do so.

In dealing with present-day problems one sometimes cannot avoid criticizing policies or events. The views which I express are my own. I have tried to be fair and I realize fully that it is not possible in this small book to do justice to all opinions.

Even if readers disagree with some of its conclusions this book will serve its purpose if it encourages thought, discussion, and action concerning some of Africa's problems.

T. R. BATTEN

*University of London Institute of Education,  
July 1955.*

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*Note.* The attention of readers not wholly 'familiar with the English language is directed to the glossary (pp. 72-4), where the less common words in the text are explained simply.

## INTRODUCTION

MANY educated Africans are thinking about the future of their country. Even before the World War broke out in 1939 they thought much about the political future of the African colonies. They had seen the Dominions grow steadily towards complete independence within the framework of the British Empire. They had also noticed India developing towards Dominion status. They had heard how disappointed many Indian politicians were with progress towards self-government in India. At that time Africans did not feel that they were gaining any greater control of affairs in their own countries. The World War sharpened the interest of Africans in such matters. Africans believe that this war was fought for freedom and for a world in which men of every race, every colour, and every religion would have equal opportunity to develop. What kind of development, and particularly what kind of *political* development, could Africans in British colonies reasonably expect ?

Such thoughts led educated men in many parts of Africa to demand from the British Government a clear promise to grant self-government to certain colonies at a very early date. The British Government accepted willingly the idea that colonies should govern themselves at some time in the future, but it also stated that, until that time came, they would regard colonial government as a trust to be carried out for the colonial peoples. It did not say exactly when or how African demands for self-government would be met.

This book has not been written to give good reasons for giving or holding back self-government at any particular

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## INTRODUCTION

time. Its aim is merely to collect and make known certain facts. The author thinks that no true judgement on the question of self-government can be formed without them. He hopes that this book may also, in some small way, assist thoughtful Africans by proposing ways in which they themselves can help to build their nation.

## I. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PROBLEM

### *The rights and duties of citizenship*

Tills book is about *African Citizenship*. Let us first be clear about what citizenship means. It is based on the idea of men living together in an organized community. As members of a community men can enjoy *rights*. In return the members of a community owe to it certain *duties*.

Rights are advantages that may be claimed by members of a community. These are of several kinds. In primitive societies they usually include, among others, the right to farm, hunt, fish, cut wood, and feed animals on communal land. Another common right is that of protection against evil-doers. Among more advanced peoples there may be the granting of new rights, such as free education for a man's children, free medical attention, and a small pension when a man is too old to work. There may also be a right to vote for representatives in the work of government.

So far we have only examined the position of the citizen as the possessor of rights. We have noted that they are not fixed in number or kind, but depend on the communal will. Some people, e.g. slaves, have not even the right of personal freedom. Nazi Germany, in the Second World War, tried to found an empire in which only Germans would be free men.

Another important fact may limit the rights enjoyed even by free men. Members of a free community can enjoy no right without accepting equal duty. Thus the citizen's right to protection obliges him to help to protect all other citizens. It is the duty of a citizen who receives free education, free medical attention and other advantages,

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to hand over a part of his wealth to the community. Thus the wealth given by all the citizens together is enough to enable the community to provide these services. To gain more rights always depends on doing more to make them possible. Thus the granting of new rights may be delayed by the unwillingness of some citizens to share heavier duties or expense.

To sum up: rights can only be enjoyed by men living in organized communities; each citizen who enjoys rights must accept fitting duties ; the granting of rights depends on the willingness of the citizens to accept the necessary duties.

### *The tribal system*

Most African peoples had met with these three conditions before the arrival of Europeans. African tribes had slowly fitted themselves, through years beyond number, to the conditions under which they lived. Government, law, social and economic custom, and religion were traditional. A form of tribal organization existed which taught youth these matters. Above all, the framework of society was bound together by common religious beliefs. Under these conditions it was not difficult for African tribes to satisfy the limited needs of their members.

The success of tribal organization depended on several conditions. Tribes were small, compared with modern groups of people under single governments, e.g. Nigeria or Kenya. They were practically self-supporting, and they depended little on others except for a few articles of trade. Changes in their way of life were few, and tribal organization had not to be changed often. This was mainly true even of those parts of Africa, such as the Sudan, where travelling was easier than elsewhere, and where trade and the exchange of ideas were less difficult. Even conquest by another tribe did not necessarily cause serious breakdown of tribal life. To be governed by a conquering African race often meant

little more than the collection of tribute from the conquered people, whose life otherwise went on almost as before.

We must note some weaknesses of the tribal system. The tribe was usually a primitive community, only able to exist among others of the same type. It was almost defenceless against the superior power which Europeans and Asians possessed through their superior knowledge and skills. It was also often defenceless, or almost so, against other dangers such as famine and disease.

### *Barriers to progress*

There used to be geographical barriers—seas and mountains, deserts and forests—which shut tropical Africa away from the rest of the world. When these had been crossed by more advanced peoples, it was clearly seen that no African tribal community could live in touch with such peoples and remain unchanged. For many centuries the Sahara desert was an effective land barrier between tropical Africa and Europe. The other way, by sea, was not opened till the fifteenth century, when the art of sailing -ships developed enough to make long ocean voyages possible. Even then, other conditions helped to shelter most Africans from contact with other races. There were the lack of good natural harbours; the long stretches of swampy or desert coast; the lack of suitable rivers which might lessen the difficulty of journeying inland from the coast ; the presence of malaria ; the seeming lack of wealth and the backwardness of the people. Facts like these made Africa unattractive to the white man.

In the nineteenth century, however, various influences caused Europeans to take greater interest. It was realized that to pass laws against the slave-trade was not enough. They had to be *enforced*. Enforcement meant not only the keeping of warships off the coasts of Africa to catch traders who broke the law. In the end it meant also the spread of European rule over those parts of Africa where the slave

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dealers worked. To these reasons several others were soon added.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe made Africa important, both as a source of raw materials (especially vegetable oils and minerals), and as a buyer of manufactured goods. Christians felt it their duty to support Christian missions in order to give Africans at least some help to set against the harm done by the slave-trade. Explorers, by discovering areas which appeared suitable for white settlement, provided an additional reason for European interest. The opening-up ' of Africa was then carried out at remarkable speed. Between 1884 and 1904 practically the whole of Africa was brought under European rule, and the beginning of our problem dates from that time.

### *The Partition of Africa and some of its effects*

*It is important to note certain facts about this process of Partition. First, no African community succeeded in remaining independent.'* Some tribes met the new situation by accepting treaties of protection ' from one or other of the European nations. The strongest fighting tribes, such as the Zulus and the Matabele, and the most advanced native states, such as the Sokoto Empire, decided to fight. All were overpowered by comparatively small numbers of European... In the course of conquest some tribes were broken up and tribal organization came to an end. It was clearly shown. that the tribes were not strong enough to keep their independence in the modern wc

Secondly, Partition introduced *foreign rule*. This fact was far more important than the mere loss of independence to some other African tribe. Foreign rule brought in foreign ideas which did not fit in with African ideas of life. For example, having to pay taxes in money caused Africans to

1 Except in Liberia ; and in Abyssinia, where the Italians were defeated and driven out.

work outside their own community, e.g. in the mines of Rhodesia and South Africa or on the farms of white settlers; or they had to grow cash crops for the world market instead of producing crops only for their local needs. Partition also opened the door to missionary activity. This, of course, has played a most important part in the development of African education and social welfare, but its first effect was to weaken traditional tribal organization, through breaking down the beliefs on which that organization depended. We must also note how the white man's wealth and power led many Africans to imitate such European customs as they could, without thinking of their value. Perhaps these men and women hoped that, if they did so successfully, they would improve their own position.

Thus Partition in Africa introduced conditions which the African communities could not deal with, even if they had been able to regain their political independence. Such independence could not have enabled a people to improve its way of life unless it possessed knowledge and skills which were unknown in Africa at that time. Lacking such knowledge, an independent community can do itself lasting harm. To illustrate this we have only to mention how willingly tribal lands and mineral rights were handed over to European companies by chiefs and elders for money payments. Thus possessions which should have been held for the good of the tribe for all time were sacrificed for immediate gain ; and this gain was often wasted in feasting.' If there were space, other examples could be quoted to show that the wisdom of Africans, which came from their fathers, w.4A insufficient for modern needs. And so a broader basis for African citizenship has become a first necessity for Africans in the new world. To their idea of living in the tribe they must add the idea of living in a nation.

Many tribal rulers did not understand that in selling their land to Europeans they were parting with the entire freehold. This does not lessen the force of the above argument.

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## II. THE WAY TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

As we saw in Chapter One, when the African tribes came in close contact with the white races during the nineteenth century, African traditions and customs did not enable African people to deal with Europeans on equal terms. The wish of various European countries to control the largest possible area of Africa did not mainly arise from a strong desire to control other peoples. Europeans wished to trade, to settle, to dig for minerals and to spread Christianity. But they quickly saw that none of these objects could be gained without spreading European rule at the same time. The African communities could not keep peace and order over wide areas. Nor could they build the railways and roads which were as necessary as peace and order. Partition of Africa among the European powers was the only satisfactory answer to this problem. Each Power was soon trying hard to include under its own rule as large an area as possible. During this process of partition African tribes were only regarded as important when they fought against it. Generally, when this happened, resistance was quickly overpowered.

The demand for African self-government has not appeared anywhere as a demand for a return to the old conditions of independent tribal life. It is, in fact, impossible to go back, and no one wishes to. The demand is for self-government in a more highly organized African community, on a national basis. It is a claim that adult nationhood, in its modern sense, should be recognized. If self-government is claimed by any particular British African colony, it should mean that the people feel that they have succeeded in binding themselves together to form a new, larger community; that they are united by a common loyalty to their country; and

that they can safeguard for themselves the conditions of a happy and free life.

*Dangers of rapid development*

*It is easy at this point to argue that Africans thus claim to be able to do in a few years what people in Europe have only been able to do with difficulty after many centuries. That is a false argument, for European peoples could not learn from other peoples who had already succeeded in advancing. European progress, therefore, was slow and uncertain. Africans, however, may have the advantage of all that past experience and of the latest modern knowledge. Their progress may therefore be much quicker. The astonishingly quick development of Japan in the nineteenth century is an encouraging example of what can be done by a backward people through learning from others; and, on the other hand, it is a warning of some of the dangers of rapid development.*

Some may still argue that African brains are inferior to those of the white races. Little exact knowledge on this point exists. The author has spent over twenty years in educational work among Africans, and he believes that any difference in their power of understanding is due to conditions which have nothing to do with the brain. It may be due, for example, to the low standard of teaching in some African schools and the difficulty of learning in a foreign language. Under equal conditions African children show as much quickness of understanding as white children.

Let us note one other point before discussing how African nations may develop. Full self-government is delayed while national communities are being formed. This does not mean that we must accept the idea of real inequality between these developing communities and the ruling people. A child has to wait till he reaches manhood before he is given full freedom. This is for his own good. But we know that the

child will develop into an adult, and that on reaching adulthood he may well be the equal, or even the superior, of his parent in character and ability. The relation between child and parent, or between colony and ruling power, depends on the stage of development reached by the child or by the colony. There is no difference of *kind* which can justify full equality being denied to Africans for ever, as some people still maintain. Indeed, one of the chief reasons why Africans so whole-heartedly helped the Allies in the Second World War was that they believed that the Allies recognized their right to equality, and that the Nazis did not.

Let us, then, start from our belief that Africans have possibilities equal to those of any white race, and that like other peoples they can develop self-governing nations. We must first consider how soon Africans are likely to develop national communities. Then we must decide what chance Africans have of learning to control these communities, both in their own affairs and in their relations with other self-governing peoples. This inquiry may discover facts which make the Africans' task difficult. Yet, if it proposes ways of getting over these difficulties, it will help the cause of African self-government.

### *The need for national unity*

Our first difficulty is that there is not yet, in any British African colony, a strong sense of national unity, felt by all communities within the colony. There is no feeling of loyalty which may be compared with an African's loyalty to his tribe in the days before Partition. This is not a criticism of Africans. The reason is that modern African colonies were not formed by the common desire of the people who live in them. An African colony is not held together by the interests of its own people, for it was formed wholly by the superior power of a foreign people. Thus a large number of tribes, who had lived apart for scores of years, suddenly found

themselves under the same colonial administration. Solite of these tribes had been divided by differences of belaoof, language, or custom. Some of them knew nothing but each other. Others hated each other because of triba.wats in the past.

There are other difficulties too. When European powers fixed the limits of their colonies at the time of Partition, they paid little attention to tribal areas. Indeed, many of the tribal areas were in fact unknown to them. Thus, sometimes, one part of a tribe found itself in one colony, while another part lived in a different colony belonging to some other European power.

In certain colonies this unpromising start on the road to national self-government in Africa was followed by two other developments : African tribes became weaker, and non-African communities increased.

We have already mentioned that some tribes were broken up during the actual process of Partition. Other tribes have become much weaker since then. In some cases this was because their foreign rulers did not use the tribal organization in the work of government, but preferred a system of direct rule. In other cases, where the chiefs were recognized as Native rulers, there were other reasons : Christianity spread, education of a European type developed, and young men 'moved away from their tribal areas in search of work. All these changes helped to weaken the former power of the tribe.

In some areas the weakening of tribal society has continued side by side with the growth in numbers and importance of certain non-African communitis. These communities consist of traders, settlers and miners, who have come to spend the rest of their lives in Africa. European, Indian, and Arab communities are only important in eastern and southern Africa. But in those places it is much more difficult to solve • the problem of self-government in a way that will satisfy Africans.



*Producing new national communities*

To sum up: the first big part of the African problem is to produce true African nations. African colonies were not formed by African communities that joined together willingly. They are the artificial result of foreign interference. Also, those communities are weaker than they were. In some regions they have been joined by non-African communities. Non-African communities have even less in common with all Africans than Africans have with each other.

Our first difficulty, then, is a serious one. The problem has not been merely to bring a rather primitive community to the point where it could govern itself. It is one of building up something entirely new. The new community might have been built on smaller tribal societies, but these have either died out or become weak.

Until now we have considered our problem from one angle only—that of developing a national community. When that has been done we shall have gone far towards success, but we shall not have reached it. A self-governing nation cannot succeed unless its members understand that they can only enjoy rights by accepting the duties which make those rights possible.

We can illustrate this point from family life. It is clear that a child has the right to expect from his parents his food, clothing and shelter. In return the child owes the parents the duty of obedience. The child is not free, like the adult, to govern his own life. As the child becomes adult and the duty of obedience weakens, so he has to take over from his parents more and more of the duty of providing for himself. Full freedom is only won when the child has become a full-grown man.

How far is this idea understood in Africa? Among those local communities which have their own administration and their own treasuries, much progress towards this end has already been made. The idea is understood less well in the

affairs of central government. The reasons for this are clear. In many colonies the central government is not under the control of Africans. It is not their own government. They feel no responsibility for it, but only that it is responsible for them. Therefore there is danger that the government may be regarded as a milch cow, from which the people can obtain rights and advantages without accepting the necessary duties. As we have seen, these duties must be accepted by free men before rights can be enjoyed. Thus many demands for rights are made before it is clear that their huge cost, now and in the future, can be met by the Africans who are to enjoy the rights. Such demands may include free education for all children, free government medical services throughout the colony, and the like. There may also be demands for higher salaries for government servants and teachers.

*The way to democratic self-government*

What has been written above is certainly not intended to mean that such schemes are not urgently necessary and desirable. That is not the point which we are discussing now. Our question is, 'How can these advantages be provided?' One answer may be that the British Government can assist, as it is willing to do under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts which we shall refer to later. In that case, the colony which receives the help of the British Government, while it receives it, is like the child in our recent illustration ; and the British Government is like the parent. Complete self-government can only come when the colony, as a national community, is able to stand on its own feet, to decide upon its own rights, and to accept the duties which are made necessary by those rights. Clearly, this object can only be gained by increasing the production of wealth by Africans. This will enable Africans to meet the cost of the social services which they require. Yet many Africans need to understand more clearly the connection

between the rights and the duties of citizenship.

Another difficulty remains. The African national state of the future will fall below African ideals if it is not organized to work in the interests of all its members. The African demand for self-government, as the author of this book understands it, is not a demand that the British Government should hand over colonial government to small minorities of specially privileged Africans. The demand is based on the idea that all men, white and black, shall have equal political rights. This idea applies as much among Africans themselves as among Europeans. It does not favour special privileges and political rights being held by some Africans and refused by them to others. In a sentence, Africans base their claims on the principles of democracy.

In the modern state democracy can only work well if there is a general standard of education, if all citizens have equal opportunities of advancement, and if the feeling of responsible citizenship is widespread. All these conditions need not be met before self-government can safely be granted. But at least some considerable progress towards meeting them should have been made.

### *Africans and government*

The system of Indirect Rule has been widely used in some of Britain's African colonies. Its purpose, in the local government of Africans, was to follow as far as possible the system of government which Africans had already developed for themselves at the time of Partition. From the point of view of the central government this system has proved very successful. It was not expensive, for it needed only a very small number of white administrative officers and technical advisers. It provided a system of government which was well understood and accepted by the people. Because of its early success in Northern Nigeria and Uganda it was later extended to many other parts of Africa ; that is to say, to parts where

tribal society was still organized well enough to form a basis for the system.

It is well that there are these local African governments, administering real local communities with their roots deep in past African history. They should help to show us how to create a larger national community of the type we have in mind. To have efficient local governments which truly represent the aims and desires of the people they rule is an important step towards an efficient and representative central government. But we must remember that native administrations, as they were developed in Africa, do not necessarily fit in with the idea of a future democratic, self-governing African state. Is each local government based on democratic principles, or does it give complete power to a chief or to a small ruling class? Where autocratic government exists, how can we be sure that the chief or the ruling class does, in fact, represent the views and interests of the community? If we are not sure now, how can we make sure in the future? Is it not urgently necessary to encourage ordinary people to form an opinion on the policy of their local government? Ought they not to be given, the means to influence their local government?

### *Autocratic rule—a danger*

In many small native administrations, governed by elders or by representatives chosen by the people, the danger of autocratic government does not arise. But in the larger emirates of Northern Nigeria and the kingdoms of East Africa the danger may be real. It is greater now than in the days of independent Africa, for the authority of the tribal chief, however autocratic it was, was then limited in three ways:

Firstly, the chief had grown up among his people, his customs were their customs, and his mind and their minds had the same background of beliefs and ideas. The chief's actions, whether they were popular or unpopular, were

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probably *understood* by his people. Now, people may not understand the meaning and purpose of actions which their chief has taken under the influence of European ideas and white advisers.

Secondly, in those days the actual authority of the chief was limited by the poorness of communications. Now, railways and motor-roads have given some of the larger local governments much better control over people living in villages far from the centre of administration. As government is now more efficient, it should also become more popular.

Lastly, before Europeans came to Africa, the chief's authority was limited by his need to keep his position. He dared not become too unpopular, for fear that his subjects would rise against him. Now, backed by the strong authority of central government, he may feel that he need not consider public opinion as long as he remains on friendly terms with the colonial government.

Wherever that is happening or may happen in the future, it may seriously check the making of a truly African nation; for local governments should represent their communities properly, just as central governments should represent properly the people of the whole country. Therefore, where local government is autocratic, it is necessary to use every method of interesting ordinary people in the affairs of local government. Thus villagers can be prepared to take a greater share in its control. Even small and poor Native Administrations can act in this way. Local governments made up of village and clan councils have a great opportunity to bring about a true sense of citizenship. They may even be more successful in this work than large and wealthy local

<sup>1</sup> Some readers may think that one important safeguard against this danger has been overlooked. The British Government and its advisers in the colonies are willing to help. May they not be trusted to prevent any wrong use of power? Clearly they are often successful in doing so. But white officials, although able, are few and hard-worked. Often they are new to their districts, and they have much official business. Can they *always* understand how those who are ruled feel about autocratic government, especially when the people are uneducated and the tribal area is very large?

governments, like those in the Northern and Western Regions of Nigeria and in Uganda.

Apart from the local government system, educated people can do much to encourage the growth of the nation. Indeed, it is they who have chiefly demanded quick progress towards national self-government. It is they who carry most of the responsibility of government when self-government is granted.

Although well educated Africans are thus all important to the future of their country, they suffer from several disadvantages. At present they form only a small minority of the total population. They are seldom in touch with people who live away from towns. They may have little direct influence on local administration where it is in the hands of tribal chiefs and elders.

These are serious drawbacks: The first, no doubt, will disappear with the spread of education. The third is being solved by bringing in educated Africans to join the traditional authorities in the system of local government. This has already been done in many areas. The second difficulty, however, can only be solved by the action **a** the educated people themselves. When well-educated men follow European habits and customs there is danger that they may lose touch with country people. They find it difficult to understand and sympathize with country problems. The mass of the people live in the villages, where problems of health, education, and economic progress are most urgent. Therefore there is great need for the help of many of the educated Africans who now live in towns. They ought not to be satisfied with developing towns and their own interests. The true African citizen has to consider whether some of his particular interests must be sacrificed in order to meet the more pressing needs of uneducated and backward people. Strong development of educational, medical, agricultural, and other social or economic services provided by the government will need the services of a huge number of African civil

servants. As educated people obtain for themselves better and better conditions of employment, their own success may limit the government services that can be provided for the greater number of people who need them so badly. We must return to the point later in this book.

We can now begin to understand what tasks lie before us on the way to self-government in Africa. They are:

to form real African national communities out of the many kinds of local communities now at all stages of organization and development;

to enable such national communities to be independent by increasing their production of wealth, so that they will be able to provide their own social and other government services;

to educate every citizen to understand the relation between the gaining of rights and the acceptance of duties ;

to develop the actual *forms* of government, by which African local and national communities may, in the widest sense, control their governments for the common good.

### III. BRITAIN AND THE AFRICAN PEOPLES

MUCH progress has already been made towards the objects outlined in the last chapter, though far more remains still to be done. What are the chances of further progress? Clearly they depend on two things : the policy of the British Government and the efforts of Africans themselves. For example, progress depends on how quickly Africans make use of new knowledge and new ideas. It depends on what sacrifices and efforts Africans are ready to make in building their nation. It depends on the readiness of groups in the various communities to think first of the national interest and only then to think of their own interests. But in this chapter we shall study the past record and the present policy of the British

\ Government. Against that background it will be easier to describe later the need for African effort in the future.

### *British colonial policy*

To understand the colonial policy of the British Government is clearly important, for the future of the colonial peoples lies chiefly in its hands. The British Government has far greater power than any African community existing now or likely to exist in the future. The British Government controls the colonial governments, and it could call on large forces of soldiers to support the authority of the colonial governments, if that became necessary. If it had wished, the British Government could have delayed the development of African self-government in many ways and for a long time. It could have done this by hindering the spread of education, by closely controlling newspapers, and by not introducing those schemes of social and economic betterment which Africans need in order to fit themselves for self-government.

Therefore it is fortunate that the British Government means well. Its statesmen have frequently said that the first aim of British colonial policy is to safeguard the interest of the native peoples of the colonies. They have repeatedly declared their policy of 'trusteeship', with African self-government as their real object.

Lord Hailey has said that the political future which British policy has in mind for the African Colonies is that of self-government based on representation of the people.

In African eyes this policy was strengthened by declarations made by the United Nations during the Second World War, and particularly by the 'Atlantic Charter' drawn up in 1941 by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States. This charter was mainly intended to form a basis for the settlement of problems in European countries when peace came, but its principles were seen to apply to colonial problems also. Thus the Allied



nations stated that a foreign government shall not take possession of a country except by the freely-expressed wishes of the people in that country ; and they wished 'to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live '. These and other principles of the Atlantic Charter, as well as the declared aims of British colonial policy, showed that there was good reason for Africans to hope for British aid and sympathy.

*Has this policy been carried out?*

Till now we have examined statements of policy and not the records of policy actually carried out. Past events do not always reassure the African citizen anxious for self-government. He thinks of the large areas of land taken over for European settlement in East Africa. He thinks of taxation, which forces many Africans to leave their homes in order to find work on European-owned mines and plantations. He thinks of the granting of responsible self-government to the European minority in Southern Rhodesia. He hears about the establishment of the Central African Federation, and he fears that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have now been added to the area of government by a white minority. In the past, the grant of responsible self-government to white minorities has led to the passing of laws that protect European interests. But Africans believe that this is not the true policy of the British Government. Thus Africans in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland have said that they would not like the British Government to hand over their countries to be controlled by any white minority government in Africa. They believe that such changes would prevent practical equality with white men, which they hope to reach some day if British policy in Africa is sincere.

The African citizen, looking back over the past, sees how great a need there has been for social services. He notes what small amounts have usually been spent by colonial

governments on these services. He may therefore ask himself how far the British policy of trusteeship may be trusted. He may feel that the true interests of Africa have had to give way to European trading and mining interests. He may think that too great a part of the wealth produced by African labour (and also by British capital, management, knowledge and skill) finds its way out of his colony.

This feeling, whether right or not, was certainly the cause of the cocoa hold-up in 1936-7, when African producers refused to sell their cocoa at the price offered. Few Africans will think that such problems should be solved by free bargaining between Africans and European companies. The latter are usually wealthy and powerful, while African farmers and other workers are usually poor and badly organized, so that they cannot bargain with European companies on equal terms. They therefore look to their central government, and beyond that to the British Government, to protect them from unfair treatment.

This is one side of the question. There is another side too. British colonial policy has done much to support African interests. Thus although, in 1923, the British Government gave way to the demands of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia for responsible (white) self-government, it did try to keep some power, in order to prevent the passing of laws unfair to Africans.' Also the British Government refused to hand over government of Africans in Kenya to the white minority there. Besides, the British Government has delayed its decision about handing over the government of Bechuanaland and Basutoland to the Union of South Africa, and has tried to safeguard Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia within the Central African Federation. Such actions, in spite of repeated demands from white people in Africa, show the strong sense of responsibility for African welfare now felt by very many people in Britain.

In practice, the British Government has not been able to exercise effective control.

T.O.A.C.—C.

Africans should also give credit to British policy for increasing both the number and the powers of local authorities. Thus Africans have obtained a large share in the control of the work of local government. Also, in territories that are politically more advanced, much has been done towards increasing African representation in central government. This is especially true of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Such rapid political development has taken place in these two countries since the end of the Second World War that in both of them Africans are now almost entirely in control of the internal policies and administration of their central governments. Even in East and Central Africa, where the difficulties are much greater, there has been much real progress during the last ten years.

### *Progress of social and welfare services*

People who criticize the slow development of African social and welfare services before 1945 should take into account both what has already been done and the difficulties which have had to be faced. No social or economic problem can be solved before its causes are thoroughly understood. Even then, years of hard work and experiment may be spent in finding the best way to solve it. The years before the war were not wasted since they have given us experience which helps us to solve our present problems. Certainly they have given us both a wider understanding of what we have to do and a clearer view of how we can do it.

Thus we may regard the period up to 1940 as a necessary time of preparation.<sup>1</sup> Even if conditions had been favour-

<sup>1</sup> The palm-oil industry gives a useful example of a necessary time of preparation. In 1921 the Nigerian Government decided to try to improve the oil palm, so that African palm-oil producers could compete better in the world market. The work of improving the palm began then, but no fewer than 300,000 of the improved seedlings were needed every year. These were not ready to be given to the planters till 1946. Even then the palms could not bear fruit for some years. In addition most Nigerian peasants still needed to be persuaded that they would make more money by growing the improved seedlings on plantations than by collecting fruit from wild palms.

able, development at first was sure to be slow. Yet we may agree that progress might often have been quicker if there had been more money to spend, particularly on education and health.

There were two reasons for the lack of enough money to set up social services on a large scale. First, some colonies were poor and backward. Second, the British Government used to think each colony could be expected to pay its own way. Money for the colony's social services had, therefore, to be found from its own revenue. Thus the poorer the colony, the less money there was for social services. But also the poorer the colony, the greater was the need to raise the standard of living of the people. This situation was made worse by the need to build railways and to pay interest on the large sums of money borrowed for building them. In times of bad trade, when export prices were low, many colonies had no money to spare for new schemes of any kind.

### *The Colonial Development Fund*

The rule that colonial governments should pay their way prevented progress in some colonies, and it has now been given up. In practice the rule was never applied thoroughly, for even in the early years free grants were sometimes made by the British Government to the poorest colonies. By 1929 such grants over a period of sixty years totalled £25,000,000. Greater help was made available in 1929 by the creation of the Colonial Development Fund. This aimed at encouraging agriculture and industry in the colonies 'to provide commerce with, or industry in, the United Kingdom'. The Fund was allowed to spend up to £1,000,000 a year on colonial development. Between 1929 and 1939 it actually spent £5,000,000.

This sum was not nearly enough, and in any case it could

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not be used for health or education. Yet it was able to do a great deal of good.'

There was an even more important result. The Fund taught people in Britain to realize that it is necessary and worth while to spend money on the colonies.

### *The Colonial Development and Welfare Acts*

The next step followed in 1940, when the aims of the existing development fund were widened to include social welfare and education, and the amount of money was raised to £5,000,000 a year for the following ten years. Still more money has been provided since. By passing these Colonial Development and Welfare Acts the British Parliament at last fully recognized that colonies could not yet reach economic independence and that, as the British Government then said, if full and balanced development was to be obtained, some assistance from outside is necessary *at this stage*. The value of agricultural products varies widely from year to year as conditions in the world market change. Thus colonial revenues are not always a sound basis for a policy of steady development. In some cases the position is made worse by heavy debts. Many colonies cannot easily find, out of their own revenues, the cost of research and survey work and of large schemes of development and improvement ; and they cannot afford the larger administrative and technical staffs which are necessary. Nor can the colonies always afford, in the absence of such development, a high enough standard of health and education services.

Few will say that, here at any rate, Britain is not making a serious attempt to put her declared colonial policy into

1. In Bechuanaland, for example, free grants of L460,000 and loans of ,C,291,000 made very great progress possible. They helped to solve the problem of providing enough water for cattle in very dry country. Also roads were improved, new schools opened, hospitals enlarged, and dispensaries built in outlying districts. In Basutoland, use of the Fund started even snore striking progress. In both countries the results were obtained by the African people, not merely by taking and spending the money, but by working hard together at those things which the grants and loans money made practicable.

practice. The cost, we should realize, is being met by the British tax-payer, who is heavily taxed already, but it has made the future of development in some territories look brighter now than ever before.

We began this chapter with the statement that progress in the African colonies depended on two things : the policy of the British Government and the efforts of Africans. We have seen that, though, in the past, British action has not always fully carried out the declared aims of policy, yet much has been done, and that more is being done now than at any time in the past.

We must now consider what Africans are doing, for nothing is more certain than that success or failure will depend on wise co-operation between Africans and their British helpers.

#### IV. THE IMPORTANCE OF AFRICAN SELF-HELP

IN the last chapter we studied the development of British policy towards the colonies in recent years, and we have noted in the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts a promise of practical help in solving Africa's most urgent problems. It is most important that we should not expect too much of these Acts. They certainly do not ,solve in advance the many difficulties which must be faced.

It is true, of course, that the Acts do provide many millions of pounds to be spent in the colonies, and at the expense of the British taxpayers who are already taxed more heavily than the people of any other country.'

Taxation in Britain is very high. The national debt rapidly increased during the war, which made necessary the sacrifice by the British people of many comforts. The British people must go on paying high taxes, partly in order to reduce this debt, and to provide pensions for wounded men and for the wives and families of men killed.

*African colonies must become self-supporting*

Yet what do these millions actually mean in terms of aid to territories? The colonial peoples number about 60,000,000, and even ten million pounds yearly represents only about three shillings each, and a total of thirty shillings in ten years. Does anyone seriously believe that help to this extent, by itself, can have any great effect?

There is another way of looking at this question of money help to the colonies. If the argument in Chapter II of this book is accepted, that economic independence and political independence must go hand-in-hand, it follows that African territories must try as soon as possible to be able to manage without money aid. Otherwise they cannot enjoy real self-government. Funds made available under the Colonial Development, and Welfare Acts must therefore be used as a means of arriving at political independence. Money help will not necessarily continue after self-government has been obtained.

Thus the available money is limited in amount, and is small when compared with colonial needs. It is limited also in time, because of the demand for self-government. Yet its very great importance should be admitted. With proper planning, with careful and economical use, and with the whole-hearted support of every African citizen, its value can be far greater than that of the actual amount of money spent. This is because wealth, when properly used, helps to create new wealth, and we hope the money will be used in that way.<sup>1</sup>

We see then that wise planning, strict economy, and the active, assistance of African citizens are necessary if Africa is to get the greatest advantage from British help. Planning is

<sup>1</sup> The wasteful use and the productive use of wealth may be illustrated by two examples from private life. Thus one man on receiving a gift of, say, £100, may spend the money on showy clothes, feasting, and other forms of pleasure. This is an unproductive use of wealth. When it is spent the man is no richer than before. Another man receiving the same amount may use it to buy the tools and knowledge of a trade, and with them he may create new wealth for himself.

now going on and is producing many schemes to bring economic prosperity, better health, and wider education. What difficulties are most often met with when these schemes are carried out?

*The help of Africans is needed*

One great difficulty is the lack of knowledge and the backwardness of the mass of the people. This is not true of every colony nor of all parts of any one of them, but it is generally true. It is particularly true of those areas which need help most. Many of the older people in these places, including some in authority, prefer to keep to the ways of their fathers. They suspect new ideas and dislike changes in the old way of life. Therefore schemes for African advancement may be held up in the places where changes are most urgently needed.'

Another difficulty is that people are willing to accept present conditions, not because they are good enough, but because they feel no personal responsibility for changing them. 'We have a government,' they say. 'Let the government do it.' This unhelpful way of regarding African problems can be as great a check to progress as active suspicion and dislike.

One other disadvantage must be mentioned. Although the masses may be uneducated or unwilling to change, there are many Africans in each colony who do see the need for progress and are, indeed, most anxious for it. But very many of them live in towns. They are more directly interested in town problems and in the political problems of local and central government. Many of them know little about the problems of village life. Therefore they are less interested in those problems and do not realize their greater urgency. Since most Africans live in villages this lack of interest is

Many examples come immediately to mind, such as the feeling which many East African tribes have towards cattle ; the difficulty of persuading farmers to plant improved types of oil palm in Nigeria ; African opposition to extending forest reserve areas ; and even, in some places, refusal to allow children to attend school,



unfortunate, for in Britain's African colonies the economic prosperity of the towns depends on the well-being of village communities. In solving village problems we shall be doing much to solve the special problems of the towns.

*How public interest is gained*

In the light of these difficulties what can each African citizen do, both while planning is going on and afterwards, when plans are being put into effect?

Here the study of the history of the British in Africa may help, for Britain's colonial empire in Africa, as elsewhere, was built up very largely by private persons. Sometimes they worked singly, and sometimes they worked together in companies or associations for some common purpose. If those persons had waited for the interest and support of the whole British community, and for action by the British Government, the British Commonwealth as we know it today would not exist. Certainly very little of Africa would have come under British rule. Many times the history of the Commonwealth has proved the value of the work that each man does. The order of events has nearly always been, first, independent effort, then government action.

This is well shown by the history of the movement in England to stop the African slave-trade. In the eighteenth century the slave-trade was flourishing. It was supported by the British Government because it provided work for large numbers of British ships which could be used to strengthen the British Navy in time of war. It brought large profits to traders who had great influence with the government and in the House of Commons. Most British people knew little and cared little how the trade was carried on. Few men knew about the evils of the trade or believed that it was unchristian, and attempts to end it might have appeared hopeless. Yet the people who thought the trade was wrong, like John Wesley, and later on Wilberforce and his friends, did not give up hope, nor did they wait patiently

till the British Government might decide to act. They tried to interest the common people and win them to their side. They visited towns and villages and held meetings to make known the facts of the slave-trade in all parts of the country. Ministers of religion preached against the trade in churches and chapels. One success came in 1772 when an English judge decided that any slaves brought to England must be set free. Then in 1787 a Settlement for freed slaves was opened at Freetown, Sierra Leone.<sup>1</sup> Twenty years later the end of a long fight came when the British Parliament passed an Act making the slave-trade unlawful for any British subject.

To this one example could be added many others. The exploration of Africa was not the work of the British Government. It was mainly the effort of private persons like Mungo Park and Livingstone. The explorers were often helped by other men who joined together in societies to support exploration.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the great work of bringing knowledge of Christianity to Africa has been done by private, not government, effort. Even trade and settlement were at first developed by companies which were not directly formed or controlled by the British Government. Usually the government did not act until it thought that private persons were bearing responsibilities too great for them.

Can we learn from this a way to solve many of Africa's problems today? Some Africans are better educated than their fellow men. They can therefore understand better what objects the people in Britain's African colonies must work for, and educated men thus bear a special responsibility at this time to carry their knowledge to those who are less fortunate than themselves. African economic independence and African self-government can be reached in this way more quickly than in any other.

<sup>1</sup> Note that this settlement was not taken over as a colony by the British Government till 1807. Once again we have an example of private persons leading the way and government following.

<sup>2</sup> One such society was the African Association (formed in 1787) which sent Mungo Park to discover facts about the course of the Niger.

## V. THE VILLAGES

WE finished our last chapter with a call for action by educated Africans' to help the uneducated and the less fortunate. We now come to the questions of how and where to act. The problems to be solved are so many and so great that no one man can hope to understand them all. Few men have the strength of mind of a Wilberforce. Many of us may therefore be frightened when we consider how much work there is to do and how little each one of us can do. If we let ourselves be frightened, our good intentions may never be followed by actions. If, however, we can divide the work into a large number of smaller parts, we may find that many things which are worth doing are within our powers. African citizenship will be won by very many people working together, each person doing a little bit.

The most important work for ordinary people without special ability and training will be found in the villages. There are many reasons for this. Villagers usually do not know so well as educated people in the towns how to raise their standard of health and wealth. It is the duty of educated people to spread their own knowledge among those who have none. Villagers, too, usually dislike change from their traditional methods and ideas, even when other methods have proved their worth. Who can persuade such people to change their ways? No one can do so better than men of their own kind.

### *Spreading knowledge and calming suspicion*

Ordinary citizens are quite able to raise the standard of life in

I Not only well-educated Africans, but all who can understand, even a little better than their fellows, the need for action.

the villages by spreading knowledge and calming suspicion. A village is a small community, and in a few years a few men working hard can reach and influence nearly everyone who lives there. When new ideas have been generally accepted, the villagers can see citizenship at work on their own village problems ; they can understand how citizenship works. This is important. Good citizenship, like every other virtue, has to be understood and practised in a man 's own everyday life before he can realize its value to him. Thus, by working for the common good, men become active citizens in their village. That will fit them to carry out their duties to those bigger communities, the tribe and the nation, of which villagers form a part. In a self-governing community, the strength and efficiency of local and central governments depend on the co-operation of the people who are ruled.

Fortunately, the idea of action for the common good is well understood in Africa. As far as their traditional knowledge allowed, the people in the villages worked together well. To their traditional knowledge the new knowledge now available must be added. Then we must show how to apply it to meet the present needs, which have been caused by recent changes.

The two chief problems of village life are ill-health and a low standard of living. Modern knowledge, and particularly the knowledge gained from work already done in Africa during the last fifty years, is waiting to be used more widely.

### *Better health and farming*

It is always better to avoid illness than to fall ill, even if a cure is simple. This is especially true of Africa, where doctors, hospitals, and even dispensaries are so few that most people who fall ill cannot hope for skilled medical attention. Yet a huge amount of illness could be avoided altogether if people only knew *and acted on* the sure methods of preventing it. We know, for example, that dirt and rubbish are among

the chief causes of plague, eye-disease and stomach trouble. Yet dirt and rubbish are still seen lying about in many homes and villages. We know that impure water causes the diseases of guinea worm and bilharzia, and that malaria-carrying mosquitoes breed in water lying in holes, tins and broken pots. We know, too, that the ulcers which appear on our bodies are due to eating too much of some kinds of food and too little of others. Yet where, in villages and towns, have the people themselves applied this knowledge in a practical way to prevent illness? Each reader will answer this question from his knowledge of his own country. Usually his answer will prove very clearly that the African citizen needs, not only to spread such knowledge, but still more to see, that it is applied in his town or village.

Again, we know *how* the standard of life in the villages can be raised very considerably. Agricultural departments have worked for many years to produce better kinds of seed for certain crops : seed that is able to resist plant disease and to grow heavy crops. Agricultural departments have also experimented with new kinds of food crops, so that people can grow better crops in certain areas and have more kinds of food to eat. The same departments teach that cattle are useful, not only for farming, but also in manuring the land so that it will remain fertile.

In most colonies there are also Animal Health (Veterinary) Departments, which are urging the people to breed better cattle, sheep and goats, telling them how it can be done. They also show how to treat skins so that better prices can be obtained. These departments also know how to prevent many kinds of cattle disease. They have already succeeded in persuading many cattle-owning tribes to bring in their animals for treatment. They have been less successful in solving the cattle problem in East Africa. This is caused by tribes who count wealth by the *number* of their cattle and not by their *quality*. In many areas there are now so many cattle that the grazing grounds are too small, and the cattle are

half starved. The grasses are eaten before they can seed, the land is left bare for heavy rains to wash away the soil, and the remaining soil becomes so poor that even grass will not grow on it properly.

*Means of spreading knowledge*

The difficulty in Africa today is not that knowledge to solve its problems is lacking. The real difficulty is to spread that knowledge among the people and to persuade them to act on it. Skilled men in the government service can only have their full value when the people make use of their work.

We have quoted only a few examples of knowledge which is available to improve conditions in Africa. Most people can think of other examples. The knowledge itself can be gained without difficulty. There are three possible ways of spreading and applying the knowledge: through local and central government departments of Health, Agriculture, Animal Health and Forestry ; through the schools ; and through the efforts of private persons. ,

Most of the progress which has been made is due to the work of government departments. We owe to these departments the mass of proved, useful knowledge that now needs to be applied. They have also been partly successful in spreading the knowledge among the people and in getting them to act on it. But they cannot be truly successful without help from ordinary people. Departments can seldom force people to change their ways; they must try to persuade them. But persuasion often takes long, villages are very many, and the servants of the government departments are very few. Even if departments are helped in the future by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, the funds for government use are still small compared with the work to be done. It would not be possible, for example, to employ and pay agricultural,

E.g. other volumes in this *African Welfare Series* deal with some of the subjects mentioned above.

veterinary, and health teachers in every village. Governments will be able to advise and assist the villages, but the villages will have to do much of the work for themselves.

There is a limit to the spreading of knowledge through the schools. Many villages have no school, and probably some will remain without one for a long time, though here again there has been much progress during the last ten years, and Western Nigeria and the Gold Coast have already introduced schools to provide schooling for every child. However, the influence of the school is also limited in other ways. The time spent by children in school is short, the standard of teaching is often low, and the time-table is crowded, especially in schools where English is taught. Besides, those who learn at school are only children, who can have little direct influence on their community before they grow up. Since our aim is economic independence, leading on to political self-government in the shortest possible time, can we afford to wait? Clearly, something more than the education of children in village improvement is needed. Somehow adult villagers must be reached and influenced.

### *Mass education*

Although in some areas many villages may be without schools for a long time, elsewhere we can do something by encouraging adults to attend special classes, arranged for them at schools. These adults can be taught to read and write, and perhaps they can also be taught some useful new knowledge. But attendance at adult classes is usually irregular, and progress is therefore often slow. Unless they are encouraged again and again, many adults will not take the trouble to attend classes at all.

We now come to the third and most hopeful way of both spreading and applying knowledge. Most villages contain some adults who are better educated than their neighbours. A very special responsibility now rests on these people. They,

at any rate, cannot excuse themselves by saying that they have had no schooling ! If African colonies wish to show that they are worthy of governing themselves, surely their educated citizens should be ready to do two things : *to apply their knowledge fully in their own daily lives; and to spread what they know among those people who know less than themselves.*

How can they do this? In a backward community, leaders certainly need strength of character, for it is not easy for a person to live rather differently from his fellows. Such a man may be accused of thinking himself better than other people. But someone has to make a start before we shall see any change in the villages. Though most people are ready to laugh at anything new, they are equally ready to take up new things as soon as they have seen with their own eyes that those new things are better than the old.

Therefore, as the first necessary step towards village improvement, everyone who has been taught useful modern knowledge about health or better farming can make a real effort to put it into practice. The ordinary man who, perhaps, has been to school can do simple things, such as make larger windows in the walls of his hut ; leave a space for fresh air to enter the hut at night ; keep his house and the ground round it clear of rubbish and dirt, and burn the rubbish after it has been collected; arrange to cover the mouth of his pit latrine (if that is the type in use) ; filter his drinking water through a clean cloth, if the water comes from an impure source ; and, in case of illness, get the doctor's or dispenser's advice *early* instead of waiting till every other cure ' has been tried.

- It is clear to most people that these simple things ought to be done, and very few villages are without some people who know that they should be done. But many men and women who have the knowledge continue living in the old ways. They do this, either because they are lazy and do not wish to draw attention to themselves, or because they feel that



nothing need be done until the new knowledge is accepted and applied by everyone in the village. Unless those who have knowledge take action and lead others to do the same, we cannot expect older, uneducated people to change their ways.

The educated citizen can help by setting his own house in order and thus give an example to others ; but by itself that is not enough. The educated man has a double reason for leading others to follow his example : he has a duty to give them the advantage of his knowledge; and in doing this he also helps himself. To take an example from the subject of health : the things which cause disease may come from outside the walls of a house, however clean and well kept that house may be. To stop flies breeding in one's own house, by keeping it clean, is of little value except as an example to others. To prevent the spread of disease carried by flies, *all* the houses in the village must be kept clean. Flies which breed in one man's rubbish heap will fly elsewhere to make other people's food dirty and give sore eyes to other people's children. Thus it is necessary for the leaders to go on working till the whole community is reached. In this work willing co-operation between educated people can play a very important part.

### *Co-operation is familiar in Africa*

Fortunately the idea of working together for certain common ends has always been popular in Africa. Even before Europeans came to Africa, there were family 'guilds ' or societies of workers in particular crafts. For example, among the Yorubas of Southern Nigeria there were blacksmiths', potters' and weavers' guilds which made rules governing the conditions of work for their members. To these traditional societies others have been added. They have been formed by workers in the new crafts which have developed in recent times. Thus there are now unions of produce-buyers, motor-owners, and even cycle-repairers.

All these societies have a similar aim, that is, to care for the interests of workers in particular crafts.

In some places, as in south-eastern Nigeria, there are 'title ', age-grade ' and company ' societies to which members pay money and look for help in times of special difficulty and expense. There are also various types of friendly ' societies, and there are even local branches of Friendly Societies which have their headquarters in the United Kingdom.' In many towns there are societies for particular tribal groups. These aim at helping their members, providing opportunities for social gatherings, and representing to the local government the views of their members on local affairs.

Voluntary societies of these various types clearly help certain groups of people to live happier lives under present conditions. They also prove that Africans are willing to join together to work for certain objects. From our point of view their value is limited if they only work to get advantages for their members. Most of them are town societies formed by people who have left their village homes in search of work. For our purpose we need societies which aim to do good, not only to their members, but to the whole community in which the members live. We want societies which are ready to do this, not merely by demanding government action, but by persuading the people to help themselves.

We can find examples of this type of society in Africa. One of the most successful is the Ibibio Union.

### *The Ibibio Union*

The Ibibio Union is a society formed in south-eastern Nigeria to work in the interests of the general welfare of the Ibibio people. It was started by an educated African who

A Friendly Society is formed by people who agree to pay small sums of money regularly into a central fund. In return for this they receive money help at an agreed rate at times of ill-health, childbirth, and other occasions when earning power is lessened or extra expense is suffered.

has already put into practice some of the principles of active citizenship urged in this book. He realized that Africans cannot afford to sit and wait for government to solve all their problems. He urged the people of his tribe to co-operate among themselves to improve the conditions in which they lived. By travelling among them, talking over their difficulties, and encouraging them to become active citizens, he was able to persuade many of them to join a union to develop all sides of Ibibio tribal life. Members have given the necessary money. By joining many local groups into one big Union they have helped to develop a greater feeling of tribal unity. The Union has been able to settle quarrels between different villages, thus saving the expense of obtaining a judgement from the law courts. It has even helped clever students to complete their education overseas, in the United Kingdom and America, in the hope of training them as future leaders in tribal agriculture, crafts, education, health and other needed work. The Union has political activities, too, for it tries to influence the local and central governments in all matters which touch on Ibibio welfare.'

Here is one practical example of self-help on a very large scale, and it is a most hopeful sign for the future if similar societies can be developed in every African community. Cannot this be done? Cannot educated people be found in every part of Africa who are active enough to co-operate with others in serving their own communities and who will not just criticize existing conditions and wait for government assistance but start improving things by themselves?

Societies like friendly societies and co-operative unions of farmers, which serve the personal interests of their members, are very valuable, but something more is needed. Local African development societies and progress societies can raise much higher the standard of health and prosperity in many areas that are backward at present. They can do it by

<sup>1</sup> As long ago as 1941, the Union requested the Governor to consult it before nominating an Ibibio representative to sit on the Nigerian Legislative Council.

starting a movement for adult education, by introducing simple methods of improving the water-supply, by clearing the streets of rubbish, by building incinerators and by educating people to use them. They can also encourage villagers to provide themselves with playing fields, and possibly with a building that can be used as a social centre. Wherever such societies are formed, they can aim to increase their Membership, to awaken interest in self-help ' through talks and discussions with villagers, and, best of all, to set an example by carrying through their own schemes of village improvement.

There is so much to be done, and educated men, if they have the will, can do at least something by themselves for their own people. The serious lack of interest which we find in so many areas at present kills all hope of quick and steady progress. It must be conquered. The most important thing is to make a good start with this most important work. All future development depends on that. It will enable the government to help the people more easily and cheaply. The people will thus be preparing themselves in the best possible way to accept the responsibility of governing' themselves.

## VI. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

IN the last chapter we discussed the value and the great need of voluntary co-operation to awaken the interest of villagers in self-help. We saw that nothing else could solve their problems so quickly or so well. This does not mean that the work of the local and central government will become less and less important. In fact, as the idea of self-help grows, so will greater responsibilities be laid on organized governments. Their opportunity to do useful and successful work will also

he greater. At present much of government's time and strength is spent in trying, and often failing, to persuade people to do helpful things in their own interest. When the voluntary effort of well-informed people does this work, government will be left free to deal with the many problems which are beyond the efforts of voluntary co-operation. Sometimes the *power* of government is also needed to assist voluntary work. The power is applied through laws which may force the citizen to do or not to do certain things ; also through inspectors and policemen who see that the laws are obeyed ; and also through judges to whom the community gives power to punish those people who have not obeyed its laws.

### *Laws and law-making*

We may here take another example from Public Health. This example is to show why laws are necessary and helpful, and also why they need the general support of the people who have to obey them. A man cannot, by himself and without the co-operation of his neighbours, make sure that he will live a healthy life. He can do much to avoid disease, provided he has the necessary knowledge. He can cover his food in order to keep away the flies that are bred in other people's rubbish heaps. He can sleep under a mosquito net and also prevent mosquitoes from breeding in his own compound. Such things are certainly worth doing, but if only one man does them he is not protected while other people allow flies and mosquitoes to breed freely.

Voluntary action of the kind mentioned in the last chapter sets a good example by leading others to act. It may succeed in winning the support of most people. But there are always some people in every community who prefer the old ways. No voluntary society has the *power* to make such people change their ways. Yet, since even one dirty house may cause ill-health throughout the whole village, the

community as a whole must take the power which voluntary action lacks. Thus it needs to make laws which will force the unwilling minority to join with the others in creating healthy conditions.

Note the word *minority* used above, for it shows us that governments cannot successfully take the place of voluntary co-operation among citizens. Laws are useless when they enforce things which *most* people do not agree with or even understand. However strong the government, it cannot successfully apply a law which everyone is determined to overlook. A government cannot put whole villages and towns in prison ! Thus laws can only be really useful when they concern matters which are understood and accepted as right by most of the people. Then they can properly be enforced against a selfish minority, because that minority is acting against the general interest of the rest of the people. Voluntary co-operation among educated citizens still has work to do in creating public opinion about all matters concerning African welfare. Only when there is well-informed public opinion on a matter can government use its power to make and enforce laws which apply to the unwilling minority as well as the willing majority.

This brings us to an idea of law which is foreign to many Africans. Laws are not chiefly made to limit personal freedom. They record common aims for the good of everybody. Lawbreakers, then, should not be regarded merely as people disobedient to the government. They will be seen in their true light as enemies of the community. Thus we may look forward to a time when the chief cause of law-making by governments will be the strength of public feeling. We saw this happening in England when the slave-trade was brought to an end. When we have reached the stage at which governments act on popular demand, we shall know that we have gone most of the way towards making self-government a real fact.

Government has other duties besides law-making, for there

are other limitations to the range of voluntary effort. Africa in the future, even more than at present, is going to need large numbers of men trained for special work in health, education, agriculture, forestry, and animal health ; and also to advise and help in improving villages. The work of training such men will usually be too difficult for any but the largest voluntary societies to attempt, for training is carried on better and more cheaply in centres serving a large number of villages.' Such training is usually the duty of the local or the central government, and its cost can then be met by all the people who are expected to profit by it.

The same argument is true of a number of other things which are necessary for the well-being of small communities, but which are beyond their power to supply for themselves. For example, voluntary effort can often improve local water supplies by taking quite simple action, more particularly in keeping available water *clean*. But where the supply of water is short and deep wells must be dug, tools and skill may be needed which local people cannot possibly supply. Similarly, lists of medicines required to deal with ill-health cannot usually be drawn up from local knowledge. Knowledge and skilled help of this kind are better supplied by the government.

### *The need for taxes*

This brings us to the need for taxes to pay for those services which the voluntary action of citizens is unable to provide. Here again education in its widest sense is needed to make most people look on the payment of taxes as something other than an unavoidable and unpopular necessity. Taxes are a form of communal self-help which is additional to the freely-given, personal self-help of the kind described in the last chapter. When this view of taxation is accepted it provides a most natural and valuable reason to take interest in the affairs

Note that the Ibibio Union, for example, is trying to help in this work.

of government. Interest in the affairs of government must be the ideal of every African who is working seriously for African self-government.

If we look on taxation as a form of communal self-help we shall understand how important it is to increase African production of wealth. On this depend both a higher standard of living for each family, such as better houses and more kinds of food, and also those schemes of village improvement which must be carried out by government and paid for in taxes. Yet direct taxes in the villages are often too high, in the sense that they take from the poorer people money which they badly *need* to get their families some of the ordinary necessities of life. On the other hand, they are too low to enable government to supply the social and economic services which Africa must have. We must therefore look forward to a time when higher taxation will be possible in the villages. Meanwhile, if increased taxation in most colonies is not yet possible, at least for many villagers, funds made available under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts can take its place for a time.

When, however, the Acts have done their work by increasing the production of wealth, such taxation difficulties will be solved. The Acts will no longer be needed. The money which they now provide will then be raised by taxing the people more. That is, out of increased wealth the people will be able to pay the full cost of their expanded government services. After the payment of taxes, considerably more money than they have at present will still remain for private spending by taxpayers. We must look forward to a time when all villages will have a clean water supply, schools and dispensaries, and will be near motor-roads. Meanwhile, people living in distant villages may fairly claim that their own urgent problems should be given attention before some of the less necessary and more expensive schemes in the towns.



*Forms of local government*

If we now ask how far the form of existing local governments in British colonial Africa is helping to spread the ideas already explained in this chapter, no single answer can be given. Forms of government differ greatly between one part of Africa and another, and even between different parts of the same colony. As we have already noticed, very large areas have been ruled by Native Administrations'. These vary in size from the smallest, ruling over only a few villages, to some which control from two to three million people. They differ also in kind. Some, usually the smaller ones, have a very democratic form of organization, which helps the common people to develop a real interest in local government. They are able to choose their representatives from among the village elders ; and such men, when they return home from council meetings, can give a full account of what has been decided and why. They may be questioned, too, to discover how the decisions may affect the community, and the closest interest is felt in any decision which causes the spending of communal money (taxes).

Other local government are much less democratic. They are found where British rule came as the result of treaties with chiefs who, in pre-European days, had very great power over their people. Sometimes rule of this type began by conquest of one race by another. Under such local authorities taxation may still be regarded as tribute due to superior force, and not as money paid by members of a community to be used for their common welfare. In such governments the common people are unable to express their feelings, and they may regard their local government as something apart from them, and in no sense the will of the community in action. This leads to a lack of interest in government schemes, which the people do not understand or do not like. The people seldom make open complaints or even say honestly what they really think. When asked, they

prefer to give a pleasing answer, which may in no way express their real ideas, and which in no way promises their future co-operation.

It is such peoples who are politically the most backward, even though they may be fairly wealthy by African standards of wealth. More schools and the spread of education may help them to criticize sensibly their existing form of government, so that it may be gradually changed to suit modern conditions.

### *How to prepare for local self-government*

Meanwhile, village committees of elders can be formed in order to explain local government policy to the people, and also to act as a means of expressing public opinion. By encouraging active partnership in the affairs of government, such committees can assist the development of a more democratic type of government.

Where all real authority was formerly in the hands of a chief and a small council, progress towards a more democratic form of government has been made by electing Africans of good education and character to some of these traditional advisory councils. This has already happened in many places in East and West Africa and has helped to prepare the way for a more democratic kind of local government.

Indirect rule through Native Administrations of various types, each with its own treasury and sometimes with law-making powers as well, was greatly extended in the years before the war. But there are many areas where the traditional chiefs have never been used in the administration. For example in the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti, chiefs and elders, although they kept some of their authority, had no funds for the payment of salaries and the development of social services, because there was no direct taxation. All social services were carried on by the central government and paid for out of the general revenue of the Colony. In the Northern Territories, on the other hand, where a form of

direct taxation was paid, there were Native Administrations which could pay from Native treasuries the expense of road-making, well-digging and dispensaries. In Kenya also, where the traditional authorities were not used in the administration, local councils were set up. Their African members were usually chosen by the government from a list of suitable persons prepared by the people of the area, and a white Administrative Officer acted as President. These Councils did not control the spending of any part of the general tax, but they were allowed a limited control over the spending of money collected from special local taxes, and from dues, rents and royalties paid in the Reserves. They were allowed to pay out money for work in roads, markets, education and measures to improve health and agriculture and to prevent erosion.

Both in East and West Africa, the older forms of local government are now being replaced by District Councils.

On the whole, less progress has been made towards African local self-government in towns, although in some towns like Lagos—the most important town in West Africa—there are town councils entirely elected by the people. In East and Central Africa local government in towns is mainly in the hands of Europeans and Asians, for although some Africans have settled permanently in the towns, most of them stay only for a few months or years and then return to their villages. In some towns, e.g., in Kenya, a few nominated Africans sit with European elected members on town councils. In others, they are represented on Urban Advisory Councils.

This brief outline of local government in Africa today shows that in many areas Africans are fast progressing towards full self-government in local affairs. Indeed, where the new District Councils have been set up, the *outward form* of modern local government may look complete. But, in fact, much still remains to be done. If local self-government is to work well, the councillors chosen by the people must have trained and able officials to advise them on policy and

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to do the local government work. At present there are not enough of them. Good local government also depends on people electing good councillors and taking an interest in what they do, and for this they need education. More education is needed so that more electors may become literate, and more well educated men become available for people to choose as councillors and for appointment as local government officers.

## VII. EDUCATION

MANY difficulties still lie in the path of progress towards self-government. Everything we have discussed so far in this book has shown us how important a part education will have to play. Therefore education deserves a chapter to itself. We have seen that we depend on education to give the mass of the people understanding of the ways in which modern knowledge can help them to improve health and agriculture. They need this knowledge in order to reach a higher standard of prosperity. On this knowledge too, depends a stronger and more understanding interest in the affairs of citizenship.

Education is a word that may be used in two senses. Most commonly it refers to the teaching of children in school, and it is used in this way when someone remarks that his son has 'finished his education'. It has a wider meaning when it includes any method of obtaining knowledge by persons or groups of persons, even after they have grown up.

Thus when we urge educated Africans to spread knowledge of new ideas in the villages, we are asking them to take part in a work of education that is not the teaching of children. It is the education of adult communities. Yet if we wish to spread education among the people the education of children in school is a very necessary step. Adult education itself

cannot easily take the place of child education. This is because children accept new ideas more quickly than older people who have had time to become fixed in their ways. Another reason is that children do not usually have other heavy work. The adult's need to earn his living may often make learning more difficult in later life.

Education in school in the Africa of today differs very greatly from the education which young men and women used to receive at tribal initiation ceremonies before they were admitted to full membership of the tribe. But the idea behind such ceremonies and behind modern education in school should be the same, to fit young people to take on the responsibilities that await them when they become men and women. The differences between the two kinds of education are due to the different circumstances for which they were intended, that is, life in the tribe and life in the modern world. Life in Africa has changed much since Partition. At the present time Africans need much more knowledge than tribal tradition can teach them. The growing demand for self-government will make suitable education for every child even more urgent in the future.

Unfortunately, many people are unwilling to accept the education which best fits their needs. This is partly because Europeans made mistakes when they first began educating Africans. Education in Europe had the right aim, that of fitting the child to take his place in the adult community. But what Europeans taught in Africa was intended to fit *European* children to live under *European* conditions. African conditions differ very much and in many respects from conditions in Europe. That fact was not taken into account. Thus we have the extraordinary situation that school children in Africa, particularly in secondary schools, may study the works of English writers, learn drawing, painting, singing and handicrafts in the European fashion, and yet know nothing of African arts and crafts. Many Africans still take examinations designed chiefly to test the value of the teach-

ing given in English schools for fitting English children to live in English conditions.

It is not surprising that Africans have distrusted some of the attempts to put the matter right. Education of the European kind has been the key to successful employment in government service and with trading firms. It has proved its money value. Africans suspect any attempt to change the present form of education. They fear that changes may not really be intended to help Africans, but to keep Africans from ever knowing or doing as much as Europeans. An African who has passed an examination which was also taken by English students feels certain that his education has reached a satisfactory level by English standards. These are the only standards he wants to accept.

### *The best education for African children*

We must sympathize with such views, but yet they are wrong. This indeed becomes clear when we go back to the first purpose of education, which is to fit men to live satisfactory lives in their own surroundings. African conditions differ from those in England. African problems, which African education must help to solve, are different from English problems. The only education that is good enough for Africa is that which can best help Africans to clear away the difficulties which stand in the way of their own happiness and success. Such happiness and success will be reached only when all Africans, not merely a small minority, have won much greater economic prosperity and full self-government. African education should therefore fit itself to gain those ends.

This does not mean that educational standards should be lowered. They must be very greatly raised. It does not mean that what is taught in England must not be taught in Africa. Much of it should be taught in Africa. It does mean that schools in Africa, instead of copying blindly from European education (merely because it is European), should

choose from the very wide range of modern knowledge those things which African children in African conditions ought to know.

This view is supported if we look at education in other countries. Reading, writing and arithmetic form the basis of a good education in all parts of the modern world. The teaching of particular subjects differs very greatly between one country and another. History, civics, geography, hygiene, nature study and crafts, to mention only a few, all need to be related to particular geographical and social conditions. Education in Russia, Norway, Spain, the United States of America, Japan, the South American Republics, and even in the various British Dominions such as Canada and Australia, differs from education in England. **The** *standards* reached may be about the same, and the *purpose* of education is the same, but that is all. Russians, Americans, Frenchmen, and others would feel greatly insulted if anyone tried to force on them the subjects studied in English schools, for they have too great a respect for their own nationality and their own needs. Africans in British colonies need to develop a similar respect for themselves.

### *The aims of education in Africa*

What should education in Africa aim to do? Education in Africa, as in all other countries, has two duties : it has to try to give a general basis of education to all children ; and it has to provide higher education in order to supply doctors, teachers, lawyers, clergymen, and men specially trained to deal with African problems in agriculture, trade, industry and administration.

What should be the aim of the general education given to all children? The answer is made easier by remembering that education should fit people to live in their own surroundings. Education must help children to earn their living when they leave school. Since in Africa, as in most other countries, farming is still the most important craft, education must



encourage better farming. Education should also help children to understand the ideas and organization underlying their community. This will include not only their village and tribe, but also the larger community of the nation. Education should give knowledge necessary to improve health, and here we must note how important it is to educate girls, who, as they grow up, control the conditions of home life. Education should give religious teaching, which enables citizens to decide rightly matters of conscience or behaviour which affect themselves and the community. This will become more and more important in the future as self-government develops. Education ought also to provide knowledge and ideas which will form a basis for future political development.

Can all these subjects be taught successfully in school, however good the teaching and planning? Full understanding of the meaning of citizenship, of religion, and of the value of knowledge leading to better health, cannot be expected of young children. The school can only give some knowledge of these things as a preparation for adult life. More especially the school can awaken the child's interest in these matters in the hope that he will continue his education by learning and thinking about them for himself when he has left school. By teaching reading and writing, the school can give its pupils very valuable tools by means of which they can, *if they wish*, go on with their education.

These limitations of school education should be understood. Schooling does not, and cannot under any circumstances, provide a complete and easy remedy for the problems of Africa or any other country. It can only give the future citizen, if he is willing to try, a better chance of solving the difficulties which he and his fellow citizens have to overcome. Thus we are brought back once more to what has become the main argument of this book. Neither education, nor the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, nor any other action by the British and African governments, can by themselves produce a better Africa. Such things are both

necessary and useful, but only as tools are useful in the hands of a farmer or a craftsman. Progress towards a better Africa depends on how Africans use those tools.

Although education is only a tool, it is as useful and as important a tool to African progress as anvil and bellows are to a blacksmith, or hoe and plough to a farmer. So far, its value has been limited for two reasons : firstly, because of the desire which we have already discussed for an education which is too much influenced by the British pattern ; and secondly, because only a small part of the people have so far been educated.

*Need for more and better education in Africa*

In many areas much less than half the children of school age attend school.<sup>1</sup> Of those who do attend only a minority stay to complete the work of Primary Standard IV, which may, perhaps, be regarded as the lowest satisfactory standard.<sup>2</sup> Many children leave after two or three years in infants' classes or the bottom classes of primary schools. They are unlikely to learn much in the short time they have attended. Also, in very many schools, the children do not get the full advantage of their attendance, because of poor teaching. There are not yet nearly enough well-trained teachers.

In most territories, apart from these Primary Schools, there are some Secondary Schools which try to give their pupils a more advanced education, to train them as clerks in the government service, or for teaching in mission schools, or for clerical work with European trading companies. There are also various colleges for higher education, of which the most

<sup>1</sup> In Nigeria, which has a population of about 25,000,000, only about 1,000,000 children were attending school in 1950. *Yet the number of children of school age (6-12 years) was probably more than 3,000,000.*

<sup>2</sup> The figures given below show the number of children in school in their first and sixth school year in 1950 :

	1st year	6th year
Nigeria ..	280,000	68,000
Kenya ..	245,000	17,000
Nyasaland	31,000	1,300

important are the university colleges in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, and at Kampala and Salisbury for East and Central Africa. These provide trained specialists to assist in the work of certain government departments, and also efficient English-speaking teachers for work in Secondary Schools. At present only a few thousands of the 40,000,000 inhabitants of Britain's African territories receive higher education.

Very great efforts have been made in recent years by the colonial governments to solve this problem, but a great deal still has to be done. Probably less than one child in five, and possibly less than one in ten, is now completing a fairly satisfactory primary education. In some areas the situation is much worse. Less than one in a hundred is receiving a good secondary or higher education. Yet any real advance in African prosperity, and still more certainly any real advance towards a satisfactory scheme of African national self-government, makes necessary a much wider spread of primary, secondary, and higher education. The aim must be to provide a good primary education for *every* child.

Secondary and higher education must also be greatly increased, for how else can the huge necessary number of trained primary school teachers be obtained? Educated men are also needed to build up larger social and welfare services of every kind. Most of the people realize this, and therefore they continually demand more education. But do they realize the cost, and do they realize that, like most other good things, more education can only be obtained by taking on extra responsibilities? There can only be a right to general education where the people accept the expense and labour of providing it.

### *The cost of education*

Let us take one example to show how great the cost would be. Let us assume that the least education likely to be of any lasting advantage to a child is a six-year course, from six to

twelve years old. We should then have to provide education for about one-eighth of the population. We can allow one teacher for each thirty children, and we will pay the primary school teacher £60 a year. Teachers' salaries will then cost £2 per child per year. Buildings and their care, classroom supplies and books, the cost of school inspection and so on, *might* with the greatest care be kept down to another thirty or forty shillings for each child. If these figures are accepted a simple sum will show that a colony of, say, 3,000,000 people would have to provide from revenue, fees, and free gifts from inside or outside the colony, the sum of about £1,500,000 every year. But this is only the beginning, even if we think for the present only of primary education. A very large increase in higher education would also be needed, to provide and keep a 'staff of over 10,000 teachers. Since teacher-training and higher education are many times more costly than primary education, the total annual sum the colony would have to find for education alone would certainly be much more than £3,000,000 each year.' The total for all Britain's African colonies would be at least £50,000,000 each year. We can sum up this argument by saying that to provide a satisfactory basis of education would cost at least £1 per head of the colonial population each year, and only a small part of that sum can be expected from outside the colonies.<sup>2</sup>

### *Meeting the cost of education*

The cost of development can be met in two ways: from inside the colony through effort and sacrifice by the people, and from outside help. Both are necessary. We have seen that help is now being provided by the British Government

<sup>1</sup> Note that increased spending on health, agriculture, roads, water-supply, etc., is also badly needed.

<sup>2</sup> Note that universal primary education is now being provided in a part of Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

on a much larger scale than ever before, and this is enabling quicker progress to be made. But later on the colonies must be able to pay for really sufficient social services themselves. Thus everything depends on co-operation between Africans and their governments in putting every pound to the greatest possible productive use. Very great economy in spending will be needed if success is to be won. What can Africans do?

African communities can arrange to provide free labour to build schools and dispensaries and to keep them in good condition. In many African villages this is already being done. But this does not solve our main problem, for there are many necessary things which unskilled labour cannot provide. Big buildings and the like need the work of skilled men, and they usually need also materials and machines which can only be brought from outside the colony. These must be paid for in money. There is, however, one advantage in buildings. When they have been built they go on being useful for many years at little cost for upkeep.

But most of the development which is now necessary in Africa is not of this kind, and it needs the continual paying-out of money. Without a teacher a school building immediately stops being useful as a school, and a teacher has always to be paid a salary to enable him to live. Any growth of welfare services means adding to the number of people whose salaries have to be paid for by the rest of the community. In very many cases the salary costs of any new welfare scheme come to at least 75 per cent of the necessary yearly payments. Thus the salary question cannot be overlooked when we try to sum up the chances of future progress in Africa. It will become more and more important as each new development increases the number of paid government servants, and still more important if the present (1955) high level of produce prices falls.

## VIII. NATIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

So far in this book we have studied the present situation and future outlook of local communities in Africa. We must now turn to consider the central governments of the African territories.

We saw in Chapter II that many difficulties tend to check the growth of true national feeling in many African territories. We saw, for example, that each territory contains many tribes which differ from each other in language, custom, religion, and type of government. Some tribes may be still further divided by lack of knowledge of each other or even by hate born of past wars. Has there, in the short time since Partition, been progress towards overcoming these difficulties? Is that progress sufficient to make us hope that a true national feeling, based on common interest, may have developed? Is it likely, now or in the near future, that people can put the interest of their whole colony first, if necessary before the interest of their tribe or their work? Only when this is generally true can we say that a true sense of nationality is developing. The national citizen puts personal and local interests second to those of the nation.

### *The development of national feeling*

The development of national feeling in Britain's African colonies has been influenced by a number of conditions, favourable and unfavourable. We shall examine some of them. The mere fact that a strong central government exists is a favourable influence, for it has necessarily given to all local communities within any colony certain interests in common with each other. For example, all the people have had to obey certain laws ; private war and slave-trading have been forbidden ; and for the first time a large number of

peoples of different African races have been obliged to live together in peace. Also, through taxation, these people have been obliged to pay money to be used mainly in the interests of all, and not for the particular advantage of one class or one locality.

The existence of the central government has also meant the building up of a central administration. In most territories the key positions in such administrations have usually been held almost entirely by Europeans, but most other positions have been held by Africans. We must note, too, that in West Africa Africans have recently taken over most of the former 'European' posts.

By themselves, however, these things are not enough. Time is also needed, for people are slow to develop loyalties to the nation as well as to the tribe; and it is difficult and sometimes even dangerous to grant very wide power at the centre to representatives of local communities, if these communities are not in sympathy with one another.

If they are not in sympathy with each other, lack of foreign control will not do good to the mass of the people. It will merely encourage quarrelling between tribes and minorities. Whichever of these groups won power, the mass of the people would probably be the real losers. No one wants central government to be the means of renewing old-time quarrels between tribes, even though no blood were spilt. It is therefore particularly important to ask what progress has been made in developing wider than purely local interests among the people as a whole.

### *The effect of better transport*

Much progress has, in fact, been made during the last half century. Several developments have been favourable to it. First we may note the influence of better transport.

During the last fifty years travel in Africa has become easier than ever before, with the motor-car and the bicycle becom-

ing more important even than the railway train. Local communities no longer live apart, as they used. Now, in almost every village, are men who have travelled among other tribes and peoples. They went out in search of trade or (more commonly in East and South Africa) in search of work on plantations and in mines.

*Growth of a common language and common interests*

The language difficulty is also now less serious than it was. English is becoming ever more widely spoken, and it is used in many areas by men of many different tribes for the free exchange of their ideas. Nor must the effect of the wider spread of other languages be overlooked. Swahili in the east and Hansa in the west serve in the same way as English as a general means of communication over wide areas.

A common language is important in making possible the exchange of ideas and the realization of common interests between men of different race. Education and particularly secondary and higher education, in which English is always the language used, has provided such a language. Education, too, has given well educated men and women a common background of knowledge and ideas. Such men and women still form only a small minority of the total people, because many Africans have not yet had enough opportunities of educating themselves. Well-educated people who have learnt to think of the welfare of the whole country rather than of only one part of it are very important as leaders of the people in matters of government and citizenship.

Economic conditions in Africa today also develop interests that are common to all. Almost every African is influenced in some way or other by production and trade.

Economic interests are understood more quickly than any other kind. A fall in the price of the cash crop of the village fanner, or a change in daily wage-rates, have effects which are felt immediately in daily life. When



men consider the far-reaching effect of economic conditions, they quickly realize that the same interests can be common to all over a wide area. When, as in Africa, the producer or labourer is generally black and the buyer or employer is often white, the feeling of race or colour strengthens the purely economic interest, and encourages action together by Africans of many different tribes and localities.

All producers of a particular crop, whatever their tribe, want the best possible prices for their product. This gives them a strong reason to act together when they think they can help themselves by doing so. Thus in 1937 many communities on the Gold Coast, and to a lesser extent in Nigeria, acted together in refusing to sell their cocoa when European firms acted together to fix the price. Coffee producers in East Africa and palm-oil producers in West Africa might be expected to act in the same way under the same conditions. Similarly, Africans are establishing, and are being helped by their governments to establish, trade unions to protect the interests of certain kinds of workers. Although such unions are not necessarily formed on a national basis, they are very important in drawing together for common purposes people who live far apart.

Lastly we may note how war draws people together for a common purpose. Twice within twenty-five years, the African peoples found themselves on Britain's side in war against Germany, which used to possess African colonies. During the war from 1914-18, and even more clearly during the war which began in 1939, Africans realized that defeat meant a change from British to German rule, and from British to German ideas of colonial development. Even those Africans most critical of some parts of British colonial administration have found good reason to fear such a change. Thus on two occasions war has produced effort and sacrifice for a belief held in common by every community within the colony.

In addition to these general factors, national feeling has

also been helped to develop by the setting up in many territories, in both West and East Africa, of provincial and regional councils. These may include many chiefs, as in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, or they may include representatives of welfare associations and urban advisory councils as in Northern Rhodesia.

Attendance at such councils helps to widen the interests of the people who attend them by leading them to think about matters of common interest over a wide area—about regional and even national affairs, and not solely matters of purely local interest.

*National feeling and minorities in West Africa*

While all these developments have helped people to begin to realize that they have many interests in common, it is doubtful whether they have yet anywhere produced a true sense of national feeling among all the people of any colony, even where they are united in wanting self-government. This has been the cause of many difficulties.'

This need not be an argument for not granting self-government, for in the colonies British rule itself may be looked on as minority rule. There can be no real objection to handing over government to an African minority if certain conditions are safeguarded. One of these conditions must be that the minority shall rule in the interests of the whole people and not merely of itself. Another condition, equally important, is that the governing minority shall have the desire and the power to extend to the rest of the people the rights it has gained for itself. This means, as we have seen earlier in this book, that the government will try both to increase the prosperity of the people and to educate them as quickly as possible, so that they may usefully enjoy the rights of full citizenship. In other words, a colonial minority must make good its claim to govern.

*The problem of self-government in East and Central Africa*

Over most of East Africa the granting of self-government now or in the near future to any territory except Uganda would in practice mean the handing over of control to a small minority of the people, among whom Europeans and Asians would have the chief voice. The great majority of Africans do not yet effectively control even their local governments. They have still less hope of controlling their central governments until they have many more well-educated people to represent them than they have at present.

Thus in East Africa many Africans are against a grant of self-government because they know that in practice this means self-government only for a white minority. It means that control over their future development would pass from the British Government to the white settlers living among the Africans.

We have already noted that minority government is not necessarily bad. What really matters is the policy followed by the ruling minority. Is the ruling class safeguarding the interests of the backward masses as much as its own? Is it actively trying to raise the *general* standard of wealth and education so that the rest of the people may at the earliest possible time gain economic and political equality with their rulers?

Some Africans at least do not believe that this is true of the white minority which governs Southern Rhodesia. They would claim that since 1923 it has followed a policy mainly intended to safeguard the interests of the white men in the colony, and that African interests have been sacrificed in many cases to the interests of the white settlers. They feel that the land settlement of 1930 unduly favours Europeans both in area and nearness to the railway; they suspect that white farmers have greater privileges than Africans in the marketing of their crops ; and they can point to the fact that the government has spent much more money to aid farming

among Europeans than it has among the much larger number of Africans. They have noted the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 ; and they suspect that it is a colour-bar law copied from South Africa to prevent Africans from obtaining skilled, highly paid work even if they are able to do it well. They object to the Pass Laws, which prevent Africans from travelling freely where they wish. They believe that these and other laws were made to safeguard the interests of white farmers and miners who have controlled the government, and many Africans do not think that any serious attempt has been made to provide Africans with equal economic, educational and political opportunities.

We have no space here to examine the arguments which attempt to justify these differences of treatment between black and white. We can only note that such differences provided reasons on which Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia based their unwillingness to see their countries joined to Southern Rhodesia in the Central African Federation. They feared that they would thereby be brought under the same type of minority government. And for the same reasons Africans in Kenya fear the grant of full self-government to Kenya settlers. They look to the British Government to go on ruling them, and they find in the declared policy of the British Government<sup>1</sup> their best hope of fair treatment and future development.

We have now seen that African dislike of European minority government may be supported by a number of hard facts. It can be argued that Europeans in East Africa have tried to get, and in Southern Rhodesia at least have largely obtained, a privileged position safeguarded by law from the danger of African competition. These special rights and privileges have been claimed by right of a superior civilization. Sir G. Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, speaking to Africans in 1938, stated that his government's policy was to safeguard the European:

<sup>1</sup> Seep. 17

' The Bantu is resolved to learn and, within as yet undetermined limits, is capable of learning. To forbid him opportunities is contrary to natural justice, but are we to allow him to develop and in the course of time, because his requirements are so small, to oust the European? . . .

While there is yet time and space, the country should be divided into separate areas for black and white. In the Native area the black man must be allowed to rise to any position to which he is capable of climbing . . . excepting only—and always--the very top. . . . In the European area the black man will be welcomed, when, tempted by wages, he offers his services as a labourer, but it will be on the understanding that there he shall merely assist, and not compete with the white man. . . . The interest of each race will be paramount in its own sphere.'

Can this policy be defended? The policy is based on a claim to present superiority, but yet the statement admits that it is not yet known how much the Bantu is able to learn. The Bantu is thus not expected to remain at the present level definitely and for ever. May he not in time be expected to reach the level of Europeans, if he is given full help and encouragement by the white minority ? This would mean that health, education and economic services should be set up on a scale far greater than in the past. Possibly some re-arrangement of existing areas for European and African settlement would also be needed. In East Africa white minorities are likely to get African support in proportion to their willingness to help on African development. That is to say, African support will depend on European sacrifice of European interests to the wider interests of the *whole people*.

In fact, since the end of the War very great progress has been made in providing Africans in East and Central Africa

with improved economic and social services, and in particular with much better opportunities for good secondary and higher education. There are now many more secondary schools than there were ten years ago. A university college for East Africa has been soundly established at Makerere in Uganda ; and a new, multi-racial university for Central Africa ,is now being founded at Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia. During the last ten years Africans have also obtained more effective representation on central government councils and assemblies.

That so much development has taken place so quickly is mainly due to the influence of the British Government, and to help provided by the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. But it is also partly due to a change of outlook among the white people. Many of them realize that they cannot hope to go on prospering indefinitely among a poor and backward people. In South Africa this fact was hidden at first because of the great wealth obtained from the mines. But neither the wealth from the mines, nor the land policy, nor the colour bar in industry, has prevented the growth of 'the poor white 'problem. Sound future progress depends on success in raising the rate of production of wealth by the mass of the population, that is, by Africans. Mines do not last for ever, and when that source of income begins to dry up, southern Africa may be in a serious position unless other sources of wealth have already been developed. Thus many white people in East and Central Africa, for this as well as for good social reasons, see the need to raise the standard of African production and African wealth. They believe that the white and black races depend on each other, and that the claims and particular interests of each come to the same in the end. On the other hand, the idea of 'apartheid ', (that white and black communities should be kept separate') is now more than ever strongly established in South Africa,

The land policy, the colour-bar laws in industry, urban acts and the pass laws arise from attempts to carry out the policy of separating white and black.

where the Union Government has adopted it as its official policy.

In East and Central Africa, the demand for self-government has come mainly from white minorities and, since most Africans mistrust the white settlers, it has tended to be seen as a racial question of 'white ' interests against 'black ' interests. Thus in these parts of Africa the British Government faces a difficult problem in trying to find ways and means of giving people more power to control their own affairs in view of the suspicions which exist between them.

### *Self-government problems in West Africa*

West Africans are fortunate because the solving of their self-government problems has not been made more difficult by problems of race and colour, for nowhere is there a large body of white settlers. Self-government can only be granted to Africans, but this does not mean that the process of granting it is an easy one.

We must think clearly at this point. Before there can be any real and *satisfactory* self-government, people must first be able to agree on the form it will take, and they must be able to find people to represent them in the government whom they can trust, and who will decide on policies designed to benefit the *whole* people, rather than particular minorities, of class or tribe, within it. Thus in East Africa, Africans do not mistrust white minority government chiefly because it is a government of white people, though it happens to be so. They dislike it because they believe that the white people are likely to put their own interests first and the interests of Africans second.

In West Africa, Nigerians have found themselves faced with the same kind of difficulty, *because they do not trust each other*. So far, they have developed very little real unity among themselves and are really united only in wanting self-government. Thus when they set to work to decide on

the form of self-government they wanted, for a long time they could not agree. The peoples of the North, East and West were all suspicious of each other, and feared that if they had one powerful central government it would be too much under the control of representatives of the other regions, who might use their power in their own interests.

In the end, this difficulty could only be overcome by setting up separate *regional* governments for the peoples of the East, West, and North, and separate governments, too, for Lagos Colony and for the Southern Cameroons. Most of the powers of the old central government were then handed over to the newly-created regional governments. Even this was not enough to satisfy all the suspicions that people had for one another. In Benin, for instance, some people are now demanding a government of their own, separate from the government of the Western Region which governs them at present. Some people in the Middle Belt of Nigeria also want a separate regional government set up for them, so that they may be freed from the control of the government of the Northern Region. Nor are people content with splitting up only the government. For instance, many people in the Eastern Region are now wanting a university college for their own region, mainly because the existing university college of Nigeria is situated at Ibadan within the Western Region.

This division of most of the powers of the old central government among a number of regional governments has greatly increased the cost of government administration without adding greatly to its efficiency. Now there are signs that the same problem may develop in the Gold Coast. There, the central government has kept its former powers, but many people in some areas have become discontented with this arrangement, and are demanding that regional authorities should be set up to exercise some of its powers in their own regions. This feeling is strong among many people in Ashanti and also in Togoland.



It is fortunate for West Africans that they can solve this kind of problem by setting up regional governments for important minorities, and unfortunate that this cannot be done in East Africa where the European and Asian minorities do not live in separate areas of their own.

But are we sure that in West Africa there may not emerge a minority problem, largely unrecognized at present, which will be similar to that of East Africa in that it cannot be solved by setting up separate governments? We have seen that colour and race are not at the root of the minority problem, even in East Africa. Until the mass of the people are well-educated, government must in practice be controlled by the minority of the people who are already well-educated, whatever their colour may be. In West Africa this minority is of the same race as the rest of the people, and although minorities are not necessarily selfish, there is always a danger, when authority is in the hands of a fairly small number of people, that they will be tempted to use their power in their own interest. And so we are entitled to ask how far in fact the educated people who have won power in West Africa appear to be exercising it in the interests of *all* the people, and how far, if at all, they may appear to be exercising it in the interests of themselves as an educated class.

Everyone will agree that since government in the Gold Coast and Nigeria has come under African control there has been an immense expansion of educational and social services planned to benefit the mass of the people, and the ministers controlling the present governments aim to expand them faster still. It is clear that in West Africa well-educated people are using their new-won power to give to the mass of the people more opportunities of the kind that they themselves have had. But we must also note that they have been able to do this under very favourable conditions. The high prices paid for raw materials exported from their countries have greatly increased their revenues. What has so far been

done for the mass of the people has not so far involved the educated class in any sacrifice. Although the cost of living has gone up for the educated classes, their incomes have gone up faster still, and they are very lightly taxed.

Now policy in Britain during the present century has been directed, more and more, towards helping its poorest citizens to reach and keep a good standard of living. To this end, government social services have been greatly enlarged and they have had to be paid for by taxing more heavily the wealthier people. That is to say, the granting of new rights and privileges to the poor has meant that the rest of the community, especially the richer classes, have had to accept much larger sacrifices.

In West Africa, on the other hand, the opposite happens. The poorest people in the community still pay in tax a greater proportion of their earnings than those who are comparatively wealthy. And salaries go on rising on the whole more quickly than the earnings of very many of the poorer people. Thus the gulf between those who are richer and those who are poorer, while narrowing in Britain, is widening in West Africa, although West Africa is, on the whole, much more prosperous than before the war.

### *Salary and taxation policies*

We have already seen that voluntary effort by educated people can do a great deal to solve some of the serious problems of ill-health, poverty, and lack of education, especially adult education, which still exist, but very large-scale government action is also needed and is being attempted. This means that the government must train and employ, or otherwise pay for, vast numbers of teachers, social development workers, and agricultural, veterinary and medical workers, for local funds are quite insufficient in the poorest areas which need help most. Thus the problem

presents itself quite clearly. With the money available for development:

High salary scales <i>mean</i>	Modest salary scales <i>make possible</i>
Small staffs <i>and thus</i>	Larger staffs <i>and thus</i>
Small social services for the masses <i>and thus</i>	Better social services for all <i>and thus</i>
Slow progress towards general prosperity.	Quicker progress towards general prosperity

Which of these are more important? The natural desire of educated people for high salaries and low taxes on their incomes, or the claims of the masses of poorer people who at present do not earn enough to keep them healthy in body and mind?

Since this question is so important and touches the interest of every one so nearly, it may be worth while examining it a little more closely. Religious ideals could be used to show the rightness of sacrifice by some for the greater needs of the many. From another angle such sacrifices can be shown to be wise. Even now in times of prosperity funds are limited. If salaries do not go too high, it will not mean that less money will be spent in salaries. It will mean that the available money would be shared by a larger number of government servants. At present only a relatively small number of the educated class can look for salaried employment, and many people apply for each available post. Those who cannot get salaried posts are usually unable or unwilling to farm. Such men create a 'poor black' problem, similar in many ways to the 'poor white' problem in South and East Africa, and due to similar causes. Limitation of demands by those who now hold salaried posts can ease the situation for poorer educated Africans, as well as for the uneducated

majority of the people. It can also help to ensure that if produce prices fall as they may presently do, the West African Governments will not have to cut down their staffs so severely.

One other point must be noted. Educated people, as much as the still uneducated masses, are quite right to aim at a higher standard of living. But if educated people do not press too hard for higher salaries now, they will serve, not only the interests of the masses, but also their own true interests as a class ; and, more particularly, the interests of their children. Africa can be made really prosperous only by teaching the mass of the people to become more efficient producers of wealth. If this opportunity is rightly used, so that wealth increases, governments will be able to collect more taxes. This increased government revenue can then be applied in two ways. It can provide yet more social services, and thus enlarge the field of salaried employment; and it can provide increases in existing salaries. This argument applies to privileged minorities in East as well as in West Africa. A sacrifice of some immediate interests will bring more valuable and more lasting advantages in the future.'

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the above argument it is interesting to compare the average wage paid to unskilled workers in Britain, with the average salaries of people in various professions, taking the unskilled wage as the unit 1. The reader can work out for himself from his knowledge of local conditions a similar table for his own colony, taking as his unit the average wealth produced yearly by the ordinary farm worker.

	Unit of Salary or Wage
Unskilled workers	1
Skilled workers	11-2
Clerks .. ..	1
Elementary school teachers	2
*Secondary school teachers	3
*Engineers .. • - -	6
*Doctors .. ..	6

\* These have University degrees and special training.

The present (1955) level of British taxation is worth noting. An unskilled labourer at present rates would pay almost nothing in direct taxes. An unmarried professional worker earning ten times as much would pay in taxes alone over one third of his income.

*Selfishness the root of the problem*

If Africa is to become in the future a continent of free, strong, and prosperous African nations, these facts must be faced. If educated people follow a policy of immediate self-interest at the expense of the real social progress of all, they will sacrifice not only the interests of their poorer countrymen but also the true interests of their own children. They will also lay themselves open to the same criticisms that are now so freely made against white minorities in East Africa. In East Africa, as we have noticed, some at least of the white people are realizing that the interests of the masses and the interests of white minorities are, in the end, one and the same.

To close this chapter let us state once again our strong belief that no question of race or colour lies at the root of the problem of developing national responsible self-government in Africa : it is human selfishness, and short-sightedness which are weaknesses common to all kinds of men, white and black.

A governing minority of any kind or colour may be tempted to use its power unduly to its own advantage. Two ways of overcoming this difficulty suggest themselves :

(a) by raising the standard of education and prosperity of the mass of the people, so that all or nearly all become fitted to share, as full citizens, the control of their government. Thus the dangers of minority rule would be overcome by increasing the educated minority into an educated majority.

(b) by increasing the knowledge of political, social and economic matters among existing minorities, so that they will learn to co-operate with others, and with them form true judgements on matters affecting the national welfare. In this work the extra-mural departments of the university colleges and the People's Educational Associations have a very important part to play.

The way to a new Africa of adult nations lies before us.

The war has quickened the speed of development. The British people realize their duties to the colonial peoples as never before. Now, therefore, is the time when all men of goodwill, black and white, should work together for African progress. At root there is one danger, and one danger only, to be overcome, though it may show itself in many different forms. It arises from no particular colour or race, for all men and women in the world are subject to the ordinary human weakness of putting self first. Unselfishness in the conduct of the affairs of the nation is a necessary quality of good citizenship.

## IX. WORLD CITIZENSHIP

WE have not considered small points of policy in this book. We have only tried to examine how far the situation in Africa today allows us to hope that really successful, national, self-governing communities may develop there. Both favourable and unfavourable influences are seen to exist, side by side. While examining them we have explored some lines along which future progress may be made.

We have seen that Africa's chief problem is to create out of local public spirit a wider loyalty to the nation. However, that is not the highest aim, even though it may provide plenty of work for the brains and energy of everyone for a long time. The family, the clan, the tribe, the nation—in the past these have all been developed to meet the needs and to order the lives of men, in their dealings with each other. Until now the nation has been the largest type of organized community. Even where civilization has advanced furthest, the problems that arise through men living together have been dealt with on a national basis. Now, the developments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have forced upon

us the idea that national organizations, though large and powerful, are too small to give us perfect solutions to modern problems. For example, improvements in communications have so widened the basis of dealings between nations, especially in trade, that no nation can safely lead its life apart from others. It can neither supply its own needs nor keep its freedom if it disregards events in other countries. During the present century the hardship of trade slumps, varying prices, and, above all, two world wars, have shown quite clearly that nations depend on each other more and more. Thus people are now gradually realizing that, in addition to family, clan, tribal and national loyalties, yet another loyalty must be developed. Mankind must find a satisfactory way of life in some type of organized world community. Like smaller types of social organization, this world community can only 'succeed if all men realize their common interests strongly enough to accept new duties and sacrifices in the new community before they demand new rights.

The League of Nations, which was formed after the first World War, was a great attempt to found a world organization. It failed because, though nations desired the advantages of peace and greater prosperity, they were unwilling to make any real sacrifice of their own national interests. Now the success or failure of the United Nations Organization will again depend on the willingness of powerful world minorities, such as the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America, Soviet Russia and China, to put world interests first and their particular minority interests second.

Thus, while Africa is trying to create national self-governing communities, the even more difficult problem of forming a real world community is being faced. The key to both problems is the same, and in solving their own national problems Africans will practise those virtues which will win for them their due place in a future world community.

## GLOSSARY

*administration*, (the) government.

*anvil*, iron block on which white-hot metal is hammered into the required shape.

*autocratic*, like an autocrat—a ruler with unlimited power over his subjects.

*automatic*, self-acting, working of itself.

*bellows*, wind-bag used for blowing fires, etc.

*breed* (v.), (cause chosen animals to) produce young.

*cash crop*, crop for sale.

*charter*, written statement of rights given by king or government.

*citizenship*, (here) position of being a full member of a self-governing state.

*civics*, study of citizenship.

*civil servant*, person employed by a government on administrative work.

*clan*, a family group within the tribe.

*communications*, the means of travelling or sending information from place to place (e.g. roads, railways, the telegraph, wireless and telephones).

*community*, group of people living in one district and having the same interests.

*compound*, enclosure in which a house stands.

*co-operate*, work together (with someone) for a common purpose.

*craft*, trade or art requiring skill.

*democracy*, country which is governed by men or women chosen by the people.

*dispensary*, place where medicines are prepared and given out; and (in Africa) where medical advice is given.

*Dominion*, one of the fully self-governing nations in the British Commonwealth.

*economic*, (here) relating to trade and manufacture.

*economical*, not wasteful.

*equipment*, (instruments, machines, clothing, or other) things needed for a special undertaking.

*erosion*, wearing or washing away of soil.

*executive* (council), that which not only discusses, but acts.

*export* (v.), send goods out of a country; (*n.*) (*pl.*), the goods sent out.



*famine*, serious shortage of food.

*feast* (v.), eat and drink in honour of some person or occasion.

*federation*, a form of union in which groups agree to join together for certain purposes while they are still separate for other purposes.

*filter* (v.), pass liquid through an apparatus which removes solid matter from it.

*found* (v.), set up, begin building.

*fund*, money set aside for some special purpose.

*grant* (v.), give officially, allow what is asked.

*graze* (v.), feed on growing grass.

*guild*, society formed to advance the common interests of its members.

*humane studies*, studies (other than science) which develop the human character and spirit.

*hygiene*, the science of health.

*incinerator*, metal or brick container in which rubbish is burnt up.

*Industrial Revolution*, the changes that began in Britain towards the end of the 18th century, when the invention of machinery led to the growth of important industries (manufacture of goods) in the towns. Many people moved to the towns to be near the mills and factories where they were employed.

*inferior*, lower in rank, quality, etc.

*initiation*, (here) admission to full membership of a tribe.

*legislative council*, law-making council of a State.

*licence*, official paper giving permission (e.g. to drive a car, to marry, to carry on trade).

*majority*, the greater number or part (opposite : *minority*).

*manure* (n.), animal droppings or plant waste used to make land more fertile. (v.) apply manure to soil,

*masses*, *the*, the common people.

*minimum*, the least number or the smallest quantity that has been reached or can be reached.

*minority*, the lesser number or part (opposite : *majority*).

*nominate*, appoint, propose for election to office.

*oust*, force out.

*pagan*, (here) believer in false gods.

*paramount*, highest in authority or importance.

*Partition*, the dividing of Africa among European nations in the nineteenth century.

*pension*, regular payment by an employer or the government to a person who has become too old or too sick to work.

*policy*, course of action followed by a government or other group.

*primitive*, (here) undeveloped.

*privilege*, advantage, right, etc., belonging to certain persons or groups.

*process*, course, progress, set of changes, course of action, method of manufacture.

*propaganda*, active teaching of certain ideas, in order to influence public opinion.

*prosperity*, success in business or other activity.

*rates*, regular amount which has to be paid by householders towards the cost of police, fire-fighting, education, etc.

*republic*, democratic country whose head is not a king, but someone elected by the people.

*research*, careful search or inquiry by scientific methods.

*reserve* (*n.*, *v.* and *adj.*), (land) set aside for a special purpose.

*resolved*, determined.

*revenue*, money received year by year (e.g. by State from taxation, by country from trade).

*revolution*, complete change in conditions ; see *Industrial Revolution*

*royalties*, payment to the owner of the land for the right to work a mine, etc.

*slump*, sudden or rapid fall in prices or demand.

*social*, concerned with people living together.

*sphere*, (here) area.

*status*, (here) political position.

*superior*, in a higher position.

*swamp*, wet, soft land.

*technical*, concerned with a particular science, machines, crafts, etc.

*theory*, supposed explanation of something, reached by observing and reasoning.

*tradition*, opinions, beliefs, customs, handed down from parents to children.

*treasury*, department managing public *revenue* of a country.

*treaty*, agreement between rulers or governments.

*tribute*, money paid to a conqueror by the conquered.

*trust*, (here) obligation to do the best for somebody who is under one's care.

*trusteeship*, position of being a *trustee*—one who holds a *trust*.

*urban*, of the city.

*veterinary*, concerned with the health of farm animals.

*vocational*, concerned with a person's employment, trade or profession.

*voluntary*, done of one's own free will.

*welfare*, well-being.

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